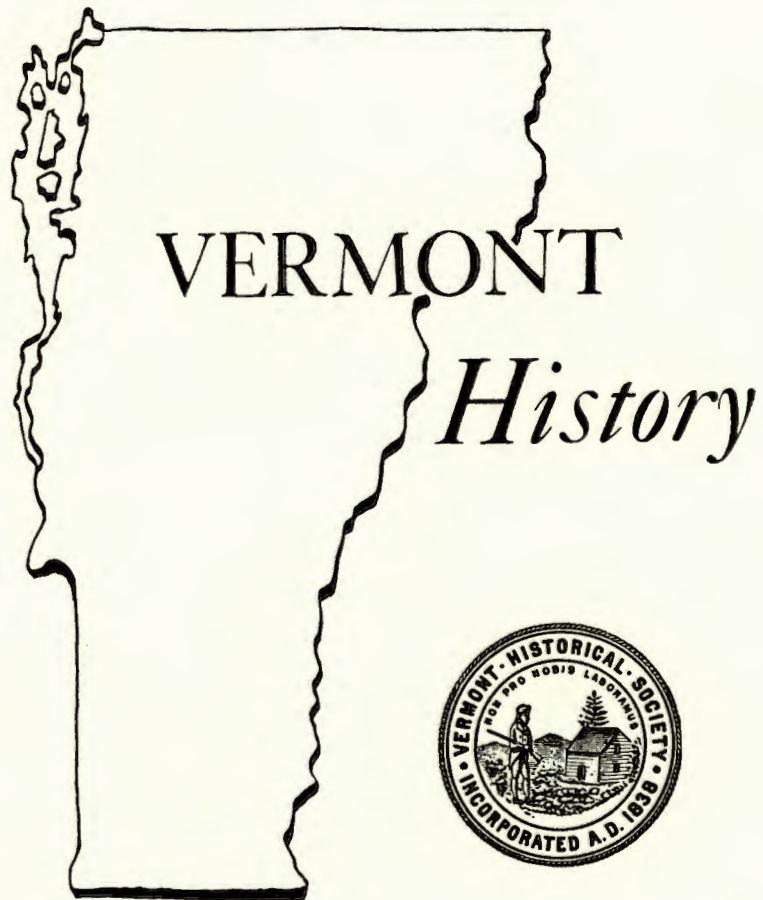
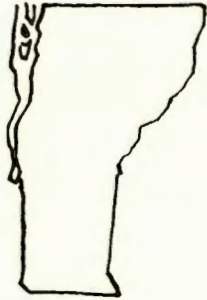


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As Burlington's population changed,
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could better govern this heterogeneous
population."

The City of Burlington and Municipal Incorporation in Vermont

By BARRY SALUSSOLIA

Between 1865 and 1923 seven Vermont towns and villages incorporated as cities and several others attempted to do so. Burlington began the move toward incorporation when it acquired its city charter in 1865. In 1893 Rutland incorporated. Barre and Montpelier followed in 1895 and St. Albans in 1897. Bennington and St. Johnsbury attempted to incorporate in 1898 and 1902, respectively, but their attempt failed. Sixteen years later, in 1918, Newport became a city. Winooski followed in 1922. One year later Brattleboro failed in its attempt to incorporate.¹

During the era of city incorporation between 1865 and 1923 most Vermont towns lost population, while the largest towns and cities grew at rates sufficient to counteract the decline and to account for the low overall rate of growth of Vermont population. The state's population increased only 12.2 percent from 1850-1920. Meanwhile the 12 largest towns added to their populations steadily, increasing over 227 percent, while the remainder of Vermont declined about 19 percent.² In roughly the same period 1850-1910, an average of 151 towns lost population every decade, the greatest losses coming in 1890 when 90 towns showed a decline.³ Rural Vermont lost population, while the twelve largest towns grew more rapidly than the state at large.

In 1850 these twelve towns held about one in eight (12.7 percent) of Vermont's total population; in 1920 the proportion had climbed to three in eight (37 percent). Five of the seven towns which became cities in this period—Burlington, Rutland, Barre, Montpelier, Newport—experienced a particularly rapid growth which contributed significantly to the en-

vironment in which they incorporated. Periods of rapid population growth and the dates of incorporation often coincide. But high rates of increase did not always lead to city incorporation. Springfield, which grew rapidly between 1900 and 1920, remained a town, while villages with lower growth rates like St. Albans and Winooski became cities.

Burlington, the first city to incorporate in this period and the second in Vermont (Vergennes became Vermont's first city in 1788 when it incorporated for diplomatic reasons during Vermont's "Republic" period. The city was named after the French Foreign Minister, the Comte de Vergennes, to win French friendship.), experienced pressures from a growing population. In 1840 when it first became Vermont's largest town, Burlington had a population of 4,271 people; ten years later the census taker counted 7,585 inhabitants, most residing in the unincorporated village.⁴ Burlington first attempted to incorporate in 1851 and, although the population growth provided an impetus for a city incorporation movement, other factors determined the result.

Despite its population growth, Burlington experienced an economic decline. Much of Burlington's prosperity rested on the export of logs and lumber to Quebec and New York over Lake Champlain. By 1843 Vermont's forests were largely exhausted and the exports from the lake port declined. Furthermore, Burlington's position as an important commercial center was threatened by the railroads which arrived in the late 1840s and opened the region into a wider market. The wholesale trade in the village of Burlington declined as competitors from Boston and Albany captured local trade in general merchandise, flour, iron, grain, and heavy goods. Another economic reversal came with the collapse of the Burlington Woolen Company, a manufacturer of woolen products. The mill came upon hard times with the Panic of 1837 and was reorganized in 1840 and again in 1845, and creditors attached the property in 1849. The closing of the mills at Winooski Falls threw hundreds out of work and resulted in a loss of 200,000 dollars in local capital.⁵

To counter this decline, business leaders organized programs to revive the town's economy. The Burlington *Free Press* frequently rued the town's lack of factories and argued that Burlington's prosperity depended on an increase in manufacturing.⁶ At this time, October 29, 1851, town representative Henry B. Stacy, former publisher of the Burlington *Free Press*, introduced a bill into the Vermont legislature to incorporate a city of Burlington. The bill met defeat, but the *Free Press* reported that another effort to incorporate Burlington would follow because "[t]he active and enterprising — the real BUSINESS MEN, — of Burlington, who most contribute to her growth and prosperity and are most sensitive for her 'good name and fame' are with great unanimity anxious for a City government."⁷



Despite a largely unsettled tract of land north of the village, Burlington was by 1860 one of the most densely populated areas in the state. The crowding of the area was further complicated by an influx of French-Canadian and Irish immigrants who combined with rural Vermonters and native Burlingtonians to make the city Vermont's largest by the end of the decade. (Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Vermont)

Undaunted in defeat, boosters persisted in their endeavors to attract more industry to the town and associated incorporation with restoration of Burlington's ailing economy. Heeding the *Free Press's* call for more manufacturing, prominent citizens offered land with the stipulation that a factory be built upon it. On May 31, 1852, the Pioneer Mechanics Shop Company was formed with local money to construct facilities to be rented out to companies producing a variety of wood products and machinery.⁸ Even before the completion of the building in 1852-53, the *Free Press* trumpeted a bright future exclaiming that "She [Burlington] *cannot be held back!* The Steam Chimney of the Pioneer Mechanic Shop, is but the first of a *thousand* Steam Chimnies [sic], that like those . . . which demonstrate the living and breathing prosperity of Cincinnati, will soon give expression to the genius of Yankee industry in Burlington."⁹ Population growth and economic decline aroused Burlington's business leaders. They looked across America and saw thriving communities, and they believed positive action on their part could insure a similar fate for Burlington. Promoting industry attested to their hopes for local betterment and prosperity. The movement for incorporation in the early 1850s was part of this boosterism. Since a city could offer more extensive services, boosters thought entrepreneurs would find it more attractive than a town.

The city charter that these advocates envisaged would permit the mayor more control and responsibility over the various departments and financial affairs of the municipality than selectmen or trustees in either the town or the village form of government. Instead of the direct democracy of the town or village meeting, these boosters desired a city representative system in which the people would elect aldermen or representatives from wards. The aldermen would gather regularly in a municipal legislative body which would formulate policy and draw up local ordinances. The mayor and aldermen would have authority to deal with local problems without calling a town meeting. City promoters believed this would be more efficient for a large heterogeneous population than trying to gather the town's people together. The proposed city differed structurally from the town or village in the exercise of power.

A second attempt to incorporate Burlington followed in 1852. At the request of six petitioners, Burlington held a special town meeting on October 7 to determine if the town's people wished "to incorporate the whole, or a part of the town with a city, with power to elect a representative to the Legislature."¹⁰ According to Jeremiah O'Callaghan, the Catholic priest in Burlington, Stacy and William Weston, an attorney, were the prime movers behind this effort.¹¹ When the town's people gathered on the 7th, Lyman Cummings, local attorney, moved that a committee be appointed to draw up plans incorporating Burlington village as a city. James W. Hickok, believing it unwise to divide the town, moved to amend Cummings' resolution and incorporate the entire town as a city.¹² Hickok opposed a city form of government for Burlington and hoped to defeat it through this resolution. The attempt to incorporate the whole town might turn those living outside of the village and fearful of not having sufficient voice in a city government against the proposition. Backers of the movement toward incorporation of a city hoped to forestall this objection by making only part of the town of Burlington a city.

Timothy Follett, president of the Rutland and Burlington Railroad, defused this debate by recommending that it be referred to a committee directed to report "a bill to incorporate part or all of the present town of Burlington as a City." The meeting approved Follett's suggestion and designated five committee members. On October 12 the committee consisting of prominent business leaders recommended a bill incorporating a part of Burlington. That recommendation was approved at a meeting of the town's people by a vote of 169 to 63. The meeting then added two additional members to the committee and instructed it to prepare a bill for the state legislature incorporating the village as a city.¹³ On October 22, 1852, town representative Henry P. Hickok introduced the bill into the House. It provided for legislative approval for incorporation pending a referendum

by all citizens of Burlington. The following week Hickok introduced a second bill, this time authorizing Burlington to acquire the status of an incorporated village. The impetus for the second bill apparently originated in a remonstrance drawn up by other prominent townspeople. They argued that Burlington was not yet large enough to become a city and that more efficient police and fire departments could be achieved through a village charter that preserved the unity of the town.¹⁴

The House referred both charter proposals to a select committee composed of representatives from small to middling sized towns. The committee reported the village proposal without comment and recommended against city incorporation. Although the committee reported that Burlington required more efficient police and fire departments, greater powers to build sewers and sidewalks and to regulate impoverished immigrants, it did not find Burlington ready to become a city. Despite this unfavorable report, the House and Senate passed both bills the same day.¹⁵ Subsequently the governor signed the bills and authorized referendums on incorporation. Burlington's residents had to decide which new charter, if either, they wished to adopt.

The debate over Burlington's incorporation as a city became a critical issue not only for the town but also for the entire state. Whatever the decision, it would set a precedent for Vermont, since Vergennes had become a city for external, diplomatic reasons. If the villagers adopted the city charter, traditional town government would cease. If the largest village in the state failed to incorporate, it could establish a precedent that would make it unlikely that villages smaller than Burlington could incorporate as cities. If, on the other hand, the townspeople adopted the charter, they would open a path for incorporating other large population centers. Newspapers and pamphlets debated both the parochial interests and broader considerations.

In a series of editorials and pamphlets supporting city incorporation, *Civis* argued that Burlington village should be "set off for a city" since the population center required "regulations" different than the rural portion of the town. It would be better for each area to "find its own prosperity." He opposed the village charter because he believed a village did not have sufficient power to deal with Burlington's problems, leaving Burlington at the mercy of the town government. As a means of winning support, he argued that a village had "no *representative* power" in the legislature as did a city.¹⁶ Technically he was correct. Town policy came before village policy, but since the village dominated Burlington this was only a technicality.

Indeed, a village did not receive any representation in the legislature, but the Burlington town representatives came from the village for twelve out of fourteen years from 1851-1865.¹⁷ The village had the votes to elect

whom it pleased. Despite *Civis's* rhetoric, the people residing outside of the village actually lacked direct House representation. The Vermont Senate produced a different situation. Burlington rotated its senators with other towns in Chittenden County. With twenty-six percent of the county population, town residents felt inadequately represented, since they had supplied senators for only seven years between 1836 and 1852.¹⁸

Civis also opposed the incorporation of a village within the town because "of the double sets of tax bills" the villagers would have to pay. If the village of Burlington was incorporated, it would have the power to collect taxes to be used within the village, but the villagers would also continue to pay town taxes, much of which would be used outside the village limits.¹⁹ Basically, *Civis* took the stance that business and thus prosperity would be attracted by the "well regulated and wholesome state of society" that the city would provide, and not driven off by fears of higher taxes. Any additional expense they might incur through increased taxation in the city would be equalized by "good and efficient fire apparatus in the hands of well disciplined and effective fire companies, and ample reservoirs of water" to protect property. The "clean streets and safe sidewalks" that would result would be a further attraction.²⁰ *Civis* concluded that Burlington required more centralized, efficient, and accountable government than the town system provided. A population as large as Burlington's demanded special laws and regulations unnecessary in the smaller towns where inhabitants knew one another. Traditional town governments could not work because of the great number of citizens attending town meetings which led to "Babel-like confusion."²¹

Opponents of the city, whether in newspapers, remonstrances, or Legislative Committees, admitted that Burlington required additional services. The form through which to deliver services, not the need of them, became the critical issue. Most prominent among the opponents of the city charter was *Veritas*. His editorials and pamphlets asserted that a village charter would best serve Burlington's "true interests." The village charter, *Veritas* argued, had the advantage of providing an efficient means of acquiring and performing services while at the same time preserving "the Unity of the town." Replacing town government with city government, on the other hand, was fraught with peril. The end of town meetings, he warned, would cost citizens the "right of voting" on important issues. City government would not only abolish direct democracy but also attract corrupt men to municipal offices who would "pay themselves *most liberally*," and drive up taxes and frighten off new business. The supporters of city incorporation were, *Veritas* cautioned, well intentioned but ill advised.²²

Despite airing the issues for two months, only a small percentage of the town's people attended a meeting on January 21, 1853, to vote their preference on which charter, if either, to adopt. Two hundred thirty-three



Urban growth demanded a range of services — from fire-fighting to street paving — beyond the capacity of the traditional Vermont town meeting. (Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Vermont).

people voted for the city and two hundred seventy-three for the village, 72.6 percent of the total gubernatorial vote cast by the town in 1852.²³ On February 7, even fewer voters attended the meeting to decide whether they should adopt the village charter. One hundred fifteen people favored the charter, two hundred opposed it.²⁴ The precise reasons for the vote on city and village incorporation remains an enigma. Many harbored suspicions of the city form of government and were unwilling to give up the traditional, comfortable town system and the annual meeting. Certainly the Burlington voters understood how to manipulate their votes to prevent change. Abby Maria Hemenway, the indefatigable compiler of local events in the latter half of nineteenth-century Vermont, reported that “many who voted for a village charter in preference to a city organization were hostile to both, and those in favor of a city charter, thinking it was defeated by the ‘side show’ of a village charter, opposed the latter.”²⁵ Opposition came from other quarters too. Led by their outspoken Catholic priest, Jeremiah O’Callaghan, the Irish helped defeat city incorporation. In a letter to the Boston *Pilot* written in April, 1853, and quoted in the *Free Press*, O’Callaghan wrote with some fervor that Burlington “had lately a fortunate escape

from a vile faction of idlers who made a desperate attempt to get our village incorporated, — with a Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, twenty policemen, and several other officials, together with a vast number of by-laws and ordinances, for the exaction of heavy loads of fresh taxes.” But, he continued with obvious relish, “they were defeated by the honest portion of the natives and our Irish Brigade. However, the rogues, who are never tired or disheartened, would bring up the question again, were it not for the recent exposure of the dreadful corruption in the corporation of New York, which may, if generally known, render innocent people more guarded.”²⁶ So Burlington remained a town containing a large unincorporated village.

Following the failure of this second attempt to incorporate, Burlingtonians continued to look for ways to enrich their town. In 1858 the Pioneer Mechanics Shops burned and Lawrence Barnes, a rising entrepreneur, played an instrumental role in replacing the buildings quickly before any businesses relocated to other towns. At the same time Burlington continued to promote industry; in April of 1858 the Burlington Industrial Association was founded to pursue this goal.²⁷

Burlington’s economy recovered with the revival of the lumber trade in the 1850s. The lumber trade had reversed direction, now coming south from Canada for transshipment to other areas. The railroads which had hurt Burlington’s wholesalers made possible the village’s comeback as a lumber center. The town’s access to Lake Champlain and the railroads made it a natural crossroads. Lawrence Barnes led the way to the town’s prosperity as a lumber capital. He understood that freight costs could be reduced by dressing the lumber in Burlington before shipment by rail. In 1857 the first planing mill was constructed at Burlington’s harbor, and the lumber business burgeoned. By 1860 sales reached forty million board feet. Barnes’s company became the largest in the United States and Burlington the third largest lumber mart in the nation by 1867.²⁸ Burlington’s economy also grew in other areas. Factories and mills dressed lumber, produced cotton and woolen textiles, and machinery had become larger and more productive. In 1850, 56 manufacturers in the Burlington area, producing goods annually worth 500 dollars or more, employed 787 workers and produced goods valued at 943,488 dollars. A decade later 73 manufacturers, employing 948 workers produced goods worth 1,272,383 dollars in 1860. By 1870, 79 manufacturers, or only 6 more than in 1860, employed 2,713 workers and manufactured products valued at 5,160,886 dollars. Between 1860 and 1870, the number of manufacturing units increased by only 8.2 percent, while the number of employees jumped 186.2 percent and the value of the product they produced leaped 305.6 percent.²⁹

Burlington made another effort to incorporate in 1864-65, and this time

succeeded in the endeavor. Changes in the composition of Burlington's population and the economic growth both influenced the change. The argument the boosters employed in the 1852 debate over incorporation remained equally persuasive. By 1860 Burlington village had become the largest population center in Vermont. The character of its population had changed over the years. An 1867 survey conducted by evangelical churches revealed that Catholics—Irish and French-Canadians—constituted a majority of the population, 4,270 to 3,664, or 53.8 percent.³⁰ Concerned local leaders pondered how “they” could better govern this heterogeneous population. Business leaders feared they might lose control of the town meeting.

By the mid-1860's villagers also felt the need for expanded services. Many residents hauled drinking water to their homes from Lake Champlain even though the lake water had become increasingly unfit for consumption. The growing likelihood of a cholera epidemic revisiting the area, as had happened elsewhere, worried some residents. They desperately needed a waterworks sufficient to supply the entire village with fresh, clean water. In dealing with the scourge of disease, another of man's great enemies—fire—would be brought under some control. Proper water mains and water pressure would permit quick and efficient fire fighting, which might aid local business by reducing fire insurance rates, and in turn would make Burlington increasingly attractive to businesses locating within the village.³¹

Two major difficulties blocked the construction of the waterworks. Residents living outside of the village would object to the heavy expense that constructing the new works entailed, and a new water system would be of no immediate benefit to them. Finding the money to build the works presented another problem. Levying high taxes would not provide sufficient revenue to fund construction other than by lengthy piecemeal process.

City incorporation offered solutions to both of these difficulties. A city as an independent political entity could permit the division of Burlington, which would permit the rural residents to maintain the town form of government. The farmers could keep their low tax rates, while the population center could borrow to protect its inhabitants from disease and fire, through a charter which permitted the municipality to issue bonds.

In 1852 Burlingtonians rejected the city charter and town division. By 1864-1865 conditions had changed the views of many residents. Dividing the town and incorporating the city was accomplished quite easily. On November 16, 1864, Lawrence Barnes, then representing Burlington in the legislature and long-time proponent of city incorporation, introduced the third bill to incorporate the town as a city.³² Five days later, the House passed the bill incorporating the city and dividing the town into two units.

The Senate concurred the next day; the Governor later signed the bill into law.³³

The debate which the new law engendered in the local press resembled that of previous years. The arguments favoring the creation of a city claimed that town government was too weak to meet the problems of a large population and labeled the town meeting system as "wholly inadequate to the complicated and important business of the town." The representative system of the city government, on the other hand, could lay taxes and make decisions much more efficiently and fairly than the "turbulent" town meeting.³⁴ The *Burlington Times* described the supporters of incorporation as "large businessmen, those who have invested capital in our village, and by a liberal outlay from their own purses secured many of the improvements we have had. They are the men who are foremost in every charitable enterprise and in anything which will do credit to the town and increase its population and wealth." The *Times* concluded "that under a city organization more capital will be drawn hither and larger enterprises than we have yet amongst us inaugurated."³⁵

Opponents argued that dividing the town served no good purpose. Expensive services which they claimed would increase local taxes were an especial anathema to enemies of incorporation. Then too, the concept of a city continued to provoke fear. "Cities," they observed, "have not been particularly prominent in their moral soundness, and have not administered their fiscal, prudential and municipal affairs . . . with more discretion and good judgment than corporation."³⁷

Voters from the entire town of Burlington met on January 18, 1865, and cast 452 ballots for incorporation and 219 against. The 671 ballots represented two-thirds of the total vote cast by the town in the 1864 gubernatorial election. Burlington had become a city.³⁷

The new city of Burlington included the village and the area to the north, totaling about eight and a half square miles in area. The area comprising the remainder of the old town of Burlington, about fourteen square miles, mostly the agricultural portion of the old town, became South Burlington. In 1870, five years after the division, South Burlington contained 791 people, a density of 56 per square mile. The city had 14,387 inhabitants, nearly 1700 per square mile. The density would have been even higher had the city not included the large agricultural area to the north of the population center cut off from South Burlington by the Winooski River and the city.

After accepting the charter, the selectmen of the town divided the city into wards and set up the machinery for the election of municipal officers. On February 20, 1865, the voters elected Albert L. Catlin, Mayor, and Lawrence Barnes, Levi Underwood, Calvin Blodgett, Omri A. Dodge,



Much of Burlington's growth in the 1860s and 1870s was the result of the entrepreneurial efforts of Lawrence O. Barnes and others whose planing mills made the Queen City one of the lumbering processing centers of North America. (Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Vermont)

Giles S. Appleton, and Russell S. Taft aldermen.³⁸ The old Burlington town officers continued governing until new officers could be elected for South Burlington.³⁹

As the editorials in favor of incorporation pointed out, Burlington required new and greater services to meet the demands of its inhabitants with pure drinking water the most pressing need. Residents also desired sewers, improved roads, sidewalks, lighting, and more efficient police and fire departments. But as necessary as these services were for densely populated regions, they were neither needed nor wanted in the more sparsely settled areas. Burlington's incorporation demonstrated an awareness of the difficulties involved in tying two dissimilar areas together under one government.⁴⁰

Burlington set the precedent for the remainder of Vermont's city incorporations. In these other communities, forces similar to those in the Queen City motivated the city charter movements, though specific issues varied from locality to locality. For instance, Winooski broke away from Colchester at the behest of a young local attorney, Henry Albon Bailey, who advocated progressive reforms. He believed in and recommended a city manager as the solution. Local ethnic pride and the need of civic improvements provided further impetus for Winooski's action.⁴¹



Something of the dynamic quality of Burlington's growth after incorporation can be glimpsed in these two photographs of upper Church Street. The first (above) dates from the 1870s while the second (below) was taken around 1900. (Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Vermont)





As the twentieth century dawned, residents took pride in what Burlington newspaper publisher Joseph Auld called 'picturesque Burlington.' Postcards, like this one of College Street, were designed to put the best face on the city's growth for residents and visitors alike. (Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Vermont)

The city incorporation movement evolved out of changing local conditions, but it opened the way for future difficulties. Concurrent with incorporation, the original towns fragmented. The separation of the population centers and the outlying rural areas made sense to contemporaries because of the very real differences between the regions. Functional and ethnic differences between the commercial-industrial villages and the surrounding farmlands underscored the wisdom of separation. But dividing the towns also left them vulnerable to changing circumstances.

Duplication of governments, services, and schools, and inadequate tax structures, mandating ever higher tax rates have plagued localities which underwent city incorporation and fragmentation. For instance, the 8.5 square mile Burlington was large in comparison to Winooski's 1.2 square miles. Because of an accident of geography, Burlington had gained all of the territory north of the original population center because it was cut off from what became South Burlington by the city and the Winooski River. This provided a substantial asset for the city's future growth; people could build north of the city and the city could tax the area. Winooski, however, had no room at all for expansion; its boundaries were identical to those of the former village, giving the city only about one square mile of taxable land. Industry and people located elsewhere. By 1980, the town of Colchester had twice the city of Winooski's population.

Burlington and Winooski were not isolated instances; inadequate size and inefficiency constricted growth in other Vermont cities too. Boosters who claimed that city services would attract industry did not foresee that in time, many municipalities would lack space for expansion. Eager businesses, however, could locate in the rural portion of the old town near the city. As a result, during the 1950s, 60s and 70s, cities and towns, and for that matter villages and towns, have discussed consolidations, mergers, unions, and annexations as a means of reversing the effects of division. The cities and their outlying areas all made the same points: Montpelier, St. Albans, Barre, Rutland, and Burlington discussed their inability to expand and revenue problems, while the surrounding regions of the original towns lamented their lack of services which inhibited growth. But fifty to one hundred years after the division, tradition and local pride tend to have more influence than arguments of efficiency and financial savings.

NOTES

¹ Vermont, House of Representatives, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Vermont, 1898* (St. Albans, Vt., 1899), 341-342, 436, hereafter cited as *House Journal* and date; Vermont, *Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont at the Seventeenth Biennial Session, 1902* (Burlington, Vt., 1902), 353 hereafter cited as *Acts and Resolves* and date; and *Acts and Resolves, 1923* p. 169.

²The twelve largest towns in 1920 were Burlington, Rutland, Barre, Bennington, St. Johnsbury, Brattleboro, St. Albans, Springfield, Montpelier, Colchester, Rockingham, and Newport in that order.

Edward Conant, *The Geography, History, Constitution and Civil Government of Vermont*, ed. Mason S. Stone, 5th ed. (Rutland, Vt., 1907) pp. 94-105; William L. Wheaton, ed., *Vermont Facts and Figures, 1973* (Montpelier, Vt., 1973), pp. 46-53; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Abstract With Supplement for Vermont* (Washington, D.C., 1913) p. 586, for Newport Town in 1900 and 1910. Additional Vermont statistics are from these sources unless otherwise noted.

In the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries seven of the twelve towns fragmented, making a total of sixteen towns instead of the original seven. The percentages of the total state population are calculated as if they had maintained their original boundaries.

³William S. Rossiter, "Vermont: An Historical and Statistical Study of the Progress of the State," *American Statistical Association Publication*, Vol. 93 (March, 1911), p. 412.

⁴Villages existed as entities before they officially incorporated. The difference between unincorporated and incorporated villages is political rather than physical. The unincorporated village lacked formal governing powers.

⁵Joseph Amrhein, "Burlington, Vermont: The Economic History of a Northern New England City" Ph.D. diss. New York University, 1958, pp. 204-205 and 232; William G. Gove, "Burlington: The Former Lumber Capital," *The Northern Logger and Timber Processor*, Vol. 19 (May, 1971), pp. 18-19, 38; and W.S. Rann, ed., *History of Chittenden County, Vermont* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1886), pp. 425 and 478.

⁶*Burlington Free Press*, July 7, 1851, p. 2; June 9, 1851, July 7, 1851, March 15, 1852, April 7, 1852, April 16, 1852, April 25, 1852, April 26, 1852, May 25, 1852, May 26, 1852, and June 26, 1852.

⁷Rann, *Chittenden County*, pp. 438-439; *House Journal* pp. 113-114, 247, 254, 268 and 270; *Senate Journal* 1851, pp. 212, 231 and 236; *Burlington Free Press*, November 21, 1851.

⁸Rann, *Chittenden County*, pp. 462-463; Amrhein, "Burlington," p. 208; and Abby Maria Hemenway, ed., *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer* (Burlington, Vt. 1867), Vol. I, 624. The Burlingtonians who offered the land were Henry Stacy; Henry P. Hickok, Burlington town representative in 1852 and president of two local banks; Eliza W. Buell, Hickok's sister; and Nathan B. Haswell, a holder of numerous town offices and United States agent in charge of constructing the breakwater at Burlington.

⁹*Burlington Free Press*, September 7, 1852.

¹⁰Burlington, "Burlington Records of Town Meetings, 1846-1860," III, 250, City Hall, Burlington, Vermont.

¹¹Jeremiah O'Callaghan, *O'Callaghan on the Mysteries* (Burlington, Vt., 1852), pp. 295-296.

- ¹²"Burlington Records of Town Meetings, 1846-1860," III, 251; *Burlington City Directory and Business Advertiser* (Burlington, Vt., 1865), p. 31; and Hamilton Child, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Chittenden County, Vermont for 1882-83* (Syracuse, N.Y. 1882), pp. 142-143.
- James W. Hickok was the brother of Henry P. Hickok, founder of the Burlington Savings Bank, and a director and manager of the Rutland Railroad Company. He is an example of a prominent entrepreneur who opposed city incorporation.
- ¹³"Burlington Records of Town Meetings, 1846-1860," III, pp. 251, 253. Timothy Follett, John VanSicklen, William Weston, and George W. Benedict, who would purchase the *Free Press* in 1853 from another member of the committee, De Witt C. Clarke, constituted the five man committee.
- ¹⁴*House Journal, 1852*, pp. 55, 79; and Burlington, *The Burlington Village Charter, To the Members of the Legislature of the State of Vermont*, October 27, 1852, pp. 2-3.
- The remonstrance dated October 27, was signed by James W. Hickok; Timothy Follett; E.C. Loomis; J.H. Peck, a merchant; and attorneys Lucius Chittenden and L.B. Englesby.
- ¹⁵*House Journal, 1852*, pp. 75, 86, 191, 205, 354-355, 258; and *Senate Journal, 1852*, p. 215.
- ¹⁶Burlington, *City Charter. An Act to Incorporate the City of Burlington. With Explanations by Civis* (Burlington, Vt., 1852), pp. 28-29, 30.
- ¹⁷John M. Comstock, ed., *A List of the Principal Civil Officers of Vermont from 1777 to 1918* (St. Albans, Vt., 1918), p. 100; and *Burlington City Directory and Business Advertiser, 1865*, pp. 45, 36, 64, 74 and 18.
- ¹⁸Comstock, *Principal Officer*, pp. 43-46.
- ¹⁹*City Charter with Explanations by Civis*, pp. 33-34.
- ²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 35.
- ²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 19, 27, 20, 23-25.
- ²²Burlington, *Reply of Veritas to Civis on the Village and City Charters, for Burlington* (Burlington, Vt., 1853), pp. 4-5, 17, 18-19, and 21-23.
- ²³"Burlington Records of Town Meetings, 1846-1860," III, pp. 257-258.
- ²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 261.
- ²⁵Hemenway, I, pp. 508-509.
- ²⁶Burlington *Free Press*, May 2, 1853.
- ²⁷Amrhein, "Burlington," pp. 208-209 and 211.
- ²⁸Gove, "Burlington," pp. 38-40.
- ²⁹Amrhein, "Burlington," pp. 255, 259, and 223.
- ³⁰Edward Hungerford, *A Report on the Moral and Religious Condition of the Community, Being An Address Before A Union of Evangelical Churches in the City of Burlington, Vt., March 10, 1867* (Burlington, Vt., 1867), pp. 20-21 and 29.
- ³¹Rann, *Chittenden County*, p. 441; Burlington, *The Charter, and Ordinances . . . and Annual Report of Officers and Committees of the City of Burlington, for the Financial Year Ending February 1, 1866* (Burlington, Vt., 1866), pp. 79-81 and Lilian Baker Carlisle, ed., *Look Around Chittenden County, Vermont* (Burlington, Vt., 1976) p. 375.
- Burlington constructed its waterworks, and they went into operation in late 1867.
- ³²Rann, *Chittenden County*, pp. 719-721, 466; and *House Journal, 1864*, p. 226.
- ³³*House Journal, 1864*, p. 281; and *Senate Journal, 1864*, p. 207.
- ³⁴Burlington *Free Press*, December 6, 1864.
- ³⁵Burlington *Times (Weekly)*, January 14, 1865.
- ³⁶Burlington *Free Press*, December 10, 1864; and Burlington *Daily Times*, December 17, 1864 and December 30, 1864.
- ³⁷"Burlington Records of Town Meetings, 1860-1865," IV, pp. 56-57.
- ³⁸Burlington also elected a nine man common council in 1865 so it would have a two house city legislature. This was abolished within a year and the board of aldermen was expanded from six to nine members. The common council consisted of J.A. Arthur, P.D. Ballou, G.W. Beckwith, W.H. Brinks, H. Loomis, C. Miller, O.J. Walker, S. Wires, and J.H. Worcester. See *Walton's Vermont Register, 1866* p. 45.
- ³⁹*Acts and Resolves, 1864*, pp. 122-123; and Child, *Gazetteer*, p. 99.
- ⁴⁰An excellent treatment of the changing conditions in Burlington and other Vermont communities in the mid-nineteenth century is in T.D.S. Bassett, "Urban Penetration of Rural Vermont," Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University, 1952.
- ⁴¹Henry Albon Bailey, "The Administration of the Village of Winooski," M.A. thesis, University of Vermont, 1915 pp. 97-105, 120, 130-136; and Burlington *Free Press*, February 4, 1920, p. 9.